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ABSTRACT

Included in this book on rural sociology in Poland are: (1) "Rural Sociology in Poland" (an article detailing the reflections and studies of rural life and agriculture before the discipline of rural sociology was acknowledged); (2) "Half A Century of Rural Sociology in Poland" (an article describing the "golden age" of Polish sociology in the 1930's, the transitory period with the coming of the Second World War, the present state of rural sociology and its development tendencies, and current research subjects); (3) "State of Research on Rural Sociology" (an article referring to contemporary studies of problems considered central to Polish rural sociology (the farm, the rural family, the village as a territorial community, the peasant's strata and class relations, and the culture of the rural population); (4) "Bibliography of Rural Sociology in Poland" (38 citations covering the period between 1957 and 1975); (5) a list of 16 active research centers dealing with rural sociology. (JC)

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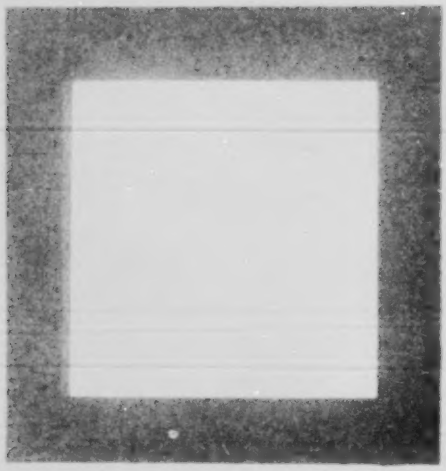

RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND

IV WORLD CONGRESS FOR RURAL SOCIOLOGY

WARSZAWA 1976

POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIOLOGY

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Preface

Studies on society are becoming themselves part of the social reality they are revealing. By his works and publications, a scientist is conditioned by the socio-economical, political and cultural system he lives in as well as he himself influences the transformations of that system. That being the very reason why history of social sciences when pursued seriously, permits a wider perspective on social reality than specific studies. It reveals namely the social conception as an active factor of lasting and transformations in the existence which is embraced by that conception or just referring to it.

History of rural sociology in Poland, or in an extended sense, history of social reflections on rural and agricultural problems in Poland, might be treated as a partial attempt of such an analysis and that was the purpose of our decision to translate several items into English and make them available for a larger group of scientists interested in that particular discipline.

The produced publication consists of three chapters. The first is written by myself - it is going back into the past when the term "rural sociology" wasn't known yet although reflections and studies on rural life and agriculture in Poland existed already and on their basis ideas or even programs were created and considered by their creators as being useful both for the state and the nation. These studies, reflections and programs refer to circumstances of the state and nation, together with peasants and agriculture in a given historical

period - these circumstances determining problems considered crucial by scientists, writers and politicians. The second chapter, by prof. dr E.T. Wierzbicki deals more specifically with rural sociology from the moment of its becoming an independent discipline among social sciences in Poland. The third chapter by prof. dr J. Turowski refers to contemporary studies on problems considered by the author as the main subject for rural sociology and at the same time problems being most essential in understanding and transforming agriculture and rural life in Poland. Analyses of history and present day of Polish rural sociology and reflections which are continuated, are completed with information on presently active research centers, publications and on dydactics on that field, written by dr L.M. Szwengrub.

Poland is undoubtedly among countries where rural and agricultural problems are still of great importance. It would be impossible to measure the gravity of those problems with the percentage of population employed in agriculture or inhabiting rural areas neither with share of agricultural production in the total national output. Neither social reforms nor progressive industrialization, deprived these problems of their importance. On the contrary, it could be said, that economical development increases the importance of agriculture in national economy being an indispensable factor of rational employment of human and natural resources as well as a necessary premise for industry and services increase. Also in the field of social organization and culture the rural areas, rural population, organization forms typical for rural communities and their typical way of life create particular difficulties

in embracing them by rational programs of social development and at the same time offerring special possibilities and alternatives, as it seems not sufficiently acknowledged and exploited until now. Being a country of medium economical development, Poland could be a most interesting object of analysis both for scientists from less developed countries that are looking for experiences and for highly developed looking for means and measures to solve their problems being not always desired results of their economic growth or an accepted concept of development. History of rural sociology in Poland, trends of research, organization and methods of studies and above all the results - the image of social transformations of rural areas and agriculture in Poland - may prove to be not without meaning for further scientific activity on that field in other countries.

Bolesław Gałęski

Bogusław Dąbski

RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND[x]

It is often heard that Sociology as a separate scientific discipline has been born in the United States at the beginning of our century. That's where its interests were shaped, and where from it has been, in a sort of ready form, transfered to Europe, mainly after World War II[1].

The above would be true, if the date when a scientific discipline appeared for the first time under its present name, would be considered the very moment of its formation. It has to be admitted that the first publications, handbooks, chairs and research centers bearing in their titles the expression "rural sociology", appeared in the United States. But even under such circumstances, in some European countries, for instance in Poland[2], rural sociology enters the scene almost simultaneously, anyhow before World War II.

The beginning of a new scientific discipline does not mean the moment of introduction of a new, modern name for that discipline, but formation of problems characteristic for it, posing the essential questions as well as gathering of descriptive material. According to such a convention, a precise date would be much more difficult to establish. As usual, in social sciences, the problems are growing gradually, in the course of history. But there is also no reason, to give up

[x] First published: "Studia Socjologiczne", 1970, No. 1.

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seeking for one particular date, and to look for its origin in the times of ancient Greeks and Romans, where as we know the origin of everything could be found. The period when resulting from developing social sciences, the problems being the basis of modern rural sociology, arouse, seems quite easy to indicate. These problems and topics were mentioned simultaneously in many countries, first of all in Europe, at the end of the XIX c., and in each of these countries separately, as a product of a different social reality.

Considering the circumstances accompanying this phenomenon, we can risk an assumption that rural sociology has been established when - at least on the basic territories embraced by the just forming socio-economical world system - the consequences of the essential changes in social organization, showed. These changes were resulting during the XIX c., first of all from the developing industry. In spite of the fact whether we tend to see in the system of family-rural life, being all the time in a state of chronic crisis, fundamental human values /moral, in the first place/ that are worth saving or, on the contrary, we would like to get rid of that shameful "medieval relict" - the dissonance requiring an understanding and action, becomes obvious and commonly noticable. And it is not a problem of elimination of disturbances in an abstract image of the world, but of understanding and solving real conflicts occurring in social desorganization, in real conflicts engaging individuals, social sections and nations in the most practical sphere of their existence.

If we admit, that general premises of establishing rural sociology /as well as sociology as a whole/ have a worldwide character, because this is then the character acquired

by basic social processes and science, it becomes obvious that problems being the topics of interest for rural sociology occur in a form of particular problems of a certain country or region. In consequence, in each country /or in a group of countries being a relatively uniform socio-economical region/ different problems may occur as main problems or the same problems may be differently - according to practical needs - approached. Thus, in each country, a different start for rural sociology will be given. There will be a different hierarchy of posed questions, a different direction for search of solutions and a totally different range of interests. It does not mean, however, that only an American, Polish or French rural sociology exists, and not rural sociology without national by- name. On the contrary, on the level of generalisation, rural sociology, like other social sciences, is forced to introduce wider parameters of time and space. Without that, its existance as a separate discipline, wouldn't be justified, although the very basis of such generalizations is always an original contribution of theoreticians and scholars, being formed as a product of a certain social reality in certain countries.

A scientific discipline, being formed in different countries and resulting from different social activity may assume different names or even appear as a part of another related science according to problems it is going to approach and to the aspects of these problems.

That's now the problem of rural sociology looks like in Europe, where that particular scientific discipline has been formed on peripheries of economical and political sciences as an "agrarian" or "peasant" question. It appears most often on

the margin of agricultural economy and agrarian policy, being from time to time a part of some ephemeral science like social agronomy; or appears just as a reflection over social rural problems beyond all scientific disciplines and without a differentiating name. Such problems are accompanying not rural sociology alone. Range of interests taken up by ethnology, cultural and social anthropology is to a certain extent coextensive, and the differences in range and approach may be explained by the fact that these sciences were formed as products of social realities of different countries, as a result of the same historical events that have been accompanying the creation of rural sociology. Their more full integration as well as a possible integration with sociology /the limits are difficult to be marked/, seem to be only a matter of time.

Premises of Rural Sociology in Poland.
Rural Sociology before the War

In order to present the development of rural sociology in Poland, we do not intend to stay within limits of studies under that very name, but we do intend to investigate the scientific reflection connected first of all with the problem of the so called "peasants' question".

"Peasants' question" comes into political and scientific literature with a necessity of fundamental reforms of the system /in its most extreme form - serfdom abolishment/ already in the first half of the XIX c., not mentioning Modrzewski[3] and Skarga[4], whose ideas on the problem were rather unique and unusual. The reasons to rise the problem are of

economical nature; a more dynamic organization of agricultural production, as for instance with Polish phisiocrats /Popławski[5] at the first place, who is going as far as postulating abolishment of manorial economy/, a more vivid productive activity in agriculture and expansion of the market as with Skarbek[6], and eventually to secure manpower for the developing industry[7].

The interests of economy are parallel to the interests of state - at first, in the pre-partition period, to establish a strong statehood, strong enough to subdue the desintegrating activity of the gentry and to set against the growing powers of bordering states, being then already organized into centralized systems:, later, to re-establish the lost statehood and to base it on lasting national fundaments which would be impossible without recognizing peasants as a part of the nation and citizens.

In accordance with the nature of reasons that brought up the peasant question, it bas been discussed in that period first of all in political literature. Although the apprehension of the subject is limited, the interest for it is growing and opinions are being expressed on psychological characteristics of peasants[8], on the origin of that social group[9], qualities of one or another agrarian structure[10], the nature of relations forming a village[11]. First ethnographic researches are started[12], first monographies written[13], the first diary of a peasant-soldier is also written during that period[14].

However, the pre-enfranchise period did not bring more fundamental studies. The economical development was not enough advanced to show the rural problems as problems of a different way of living; peasants were not yet considered a

social power[15], thus the problem did not encourage more fundamental studies. The village, the rural community has been discussed because of the interests of the country and the state, but the interests of peasants themselves didn't become yet the subject of attention.

After enfranchise, in the second half of the XIX c., the situation changed, before the establishment of the independent Polish state.

The peasants in Poland have been enfranchised by the partitioning powers and thus the so called Prussian way of the capitalist development of agriculture has been opened, or to be more precise not "development" but including /or subordinate/ the peasants' and manorial farming into the global socio-economical system, the developing mechanism of which has been determined by industrial production increase and expanding market relations. Such a model of system changes - expressed in the form of the Prussian way of capitalistic development in agriculture[16] - did not abolish the basic social inequality in the Polish village, and namely the inequality - landlords-peasants, and resulting out of it conflicts. It means that the peasants question remained unsolved, although its name, its formula changed. From then on, the peasants' question has been realized not in demands to abolish the system of serfdom, but in the problem of an "agrarian reform" which will return repeatedly until the great land estates wont eventually be liquidated in 1944.

Leaving the inequality landlords - peasants unchanged as the main contents of the peasants' question, the enfranchise introduces new elements. The serfdom system cut the peasant farm off the dynamic relations with other economical

branches and has been the basis of the social isolation of the rural community. Enfranchise removed that barrier and enabled a direct confrontation of the rural and urban worlds being now connected by the labour and goods market. Such a confrontation turns into a basis of processes transforming the traditional peasant farm and the living system connected with it, into a living system based on urban and industrial patterns. At the same time it includes the peasants into the general conflicts arising out of the capitalistic socio-economical system in its stage at that time, and creates incentives for new social inequalities and conflicts within the peasantry itself. Under such circumstances, the peasants question becomes a question of the position and role of the peasants in the new social structure and political fight arising out of that structure, it also contains the problems of class and political struggle within that social group.

The third factor determining the peasant question at that time is the problem of national independence.

The experiences of successive attempts, and the January Insurection 1863 in particular, emphasized the importance of the peasants as a social force in the struggle for independence. The conquest of that force was a condition of a real struggle for independence, but this required to give the peasants a certain place within the nation being in accordance with aspirations and social maturity of that group, it is, in accordance with how the peasants themselves looked upon their needs and goals and what was their general idea of a society.

The above mentioned practical problems had to be approached by all the political powers both by conservative and compromising powers as well as by progressive and independence

-oriented. Thus, peasants become a subject of interest for those who aim to safeguard the village-manor pattern and also for those who would like to turn that conflict against the power of reigning classes and the capitalistic system in general. The same motivations, shown here in extreme and regarding only one of the three mentioned matters, are to be found as well in the interest in peasantry caused by other contradictions like class contradictions: workers - capitalists and national: Poles - partitioning powers.

It is natural, that the interest in peasant questions is shown first of all in political literature. There are voices on catastrophic[17] and favourable[18] effects of enfranchise as well as voices considering favourable a situation where both the manorial and peasant farming are coexisting[19]. Some of the writers opinion is that a partial dividing of granges is necessary[20], some of them think that it is unavoidable[21]. The discussion takes place at first between the conservative landlords and liberals believing in economical progress; gradually, the arising peasant movement is contributing to it. The division of land becomes also a subject of arguments between circles influenced by Marxism and representatives of liberal-capitalistic programs, but the matter serves here to reveal social conflicts developing on grounds of economical progress in capitalistic conditions[22].

The political discussion of the second half of the XIX c. could already be supported by empirical studies made at that time in rural communities. The studies were first of all ethnographic research, more numerous village monographies, statistical and economical works and eventually also attempts to transfer general sociological theories being just establi-

sned in Europe, to the platform of rural problems.

Probably the greatest effort has been done to get acquainted with the rural life in the fields of material and spiritual culture. Besides the fundamental work of Kolberg[23] and the monography of Karłowicz[24], many regional[25] descriptions, works on songs[26], works devoted to wedding customs[27], to costumes as well as monographies of a general character have been written[29], and among them the descriptions by Bujak[29] that remained for long models of that literary kind. Monographies of villages were focused often on the economical side, but also other were written describing the peasants' standard of living, nutrition[30] and economical institutions, farming centers, land inheriting[31], indebtedness[32] of rural communities etc. Wider economical studies are concerned with the forming of agrarian structure[33] and the progress of the productive peasant farming, with an emphasis on educational problems[34] being a rather decisive factor of the technical progress in agriculture.

Studies starting with general economical analysis but directed towards the fundamental problems of the Polish village evolution, are the most essential ones. These studies were made under the influence of conservative programs, it means they paid attention to factors stabilizing the present social situation, to economical development in conditions of manorial and peasant farming as well as to the rural community's specific features that should cut it off from the increasing urban class conflicts. Works of W. Grabski[35] and F. Bujak[36] should be mentioned here, first of all. On the other hand, these studies were looking for conflicts, for increasing revolutionary premises, appraising the power of the class

splitting in rural communities and the rate of the process bringing the peasants to a closer understanding of the socialist program /although without treating that class as a main revolutionary power/ - here first of all the works of J. Marchlewski[37] should be mentioned, and deliberations searching for factors that could bring a change in the system, in the process of evolution of the rural communities and agriculture; this line is represented in the study of L. Krzywicki "Agrarian Question"[38].

Discussing the scientific literature of that period, we can say that it is dealing with almost all the aspects of rural life, which will be later used as names of main chapters in the first handbooks for sociology printed in America, but this literature is also dealing with something very important that could not be done in America, namely with the analysis of processes transforming the former peasantry into a social power directly involved or only participating in the basic social conflicts. However, the appriasl of the tightness of that power, its intersts and goals has been different with different authors, no doubt is left that it was a central matter for the just being formulated problems of the Polish rural sociology.

Poland's basic social problems, determining the interests in rural life, do not change essentially after gaining independence and establishing the state in 1918. Even the interest in the patriotic attitude of peasants is not decreasing, although gaining of independance and the new position of peasant parties in the political structure of the country, added different meaning to that matter. However, the basic social conflicts remained unsolved; on the contrary, many economical

events - the agrarian depression of the 30-ies, unemployment and development difficulties in the industry, already monopolized to a great extend, low standard of living and underdeveloped market relations - made these conflicts sharper than ever. The whole situation found its expression in a political struggle in which political workers' and peasants' parties are now taking part, being already organized and equipped in ideologies and programs. The unsolved peasant question remains still a factor evoking and directing both research and deliberations on social problems in rural areas.

And so, in the field of research on the rural population structure, overpopulation[39] becomes the central problem, also migration possibilities, influence of demographic processes upon the agrarian structure, the living standard and the general social situation of peasant families. The agrarian reform remains still on the central position in research on agrarian structure[40]. This is a subject that stimulates reflections on the qualities of manorial and family farming[41], indebtedness[42] and monopolization of the market leading to so called prince scissors. Thus, along with the conflict - manor-village, the problems of rural research are determined also by the conflict - village - commercial and banking capital. As far as the social structure is concerned, the main problems are the formation of peasants' class awareness and the unification or advancing split of that class[43]. The growing political activity of peasants and the accompanying ideas and programs, are drawing attention to the fact of dissimilarity of the rural life pattern[44], to culture, aspirations and attitudes being shaped on that grounds[45]. More deep sociological studies are showing specific features of a pea-

sant family as well as those of a rural community[46], features of rural institutions being carriers of new, strange patterns, like a school, first of all. Even such problems as technical progress[47] and stimulating local activities[48], are being discussed in connection with unsolved fundamental problems constantly present in the social cognizance.

This is the period when Polish rural sociology is coming to shape quite distinctly[49]. Not only its research interests are extended, embracing all fundamental problems of that discipline, but also fundaments for rural sociology as a separate science are established - it is educational[50] and research centers[51] as well as a periodical - "Annual of Rural Sociology"[52], integrating scientific circles interested in the development of that science. The methodology of sociological research in rural areas is also being developed. Along with many monographies, inquiries, research on public opinion are also started[53], memoirs[54] - a method very popular in Poland. Also basic theoretical and research trends can bee seen, which are expressed in the choice of problems, and methodology[55].

However, the fact was not commonly known abroad, Polish rural sociology, has been a developed discipline at the end of the 30-ies, a discipline involved in main problems and conflicts of the time. Problems of Polish rural sociology were of course different from those in America, as they were products of a different social reality, but it was a discipline taking vital interest in rural sociologies of neighbouring countries like Russia[56], Romania[57], Czechoslovakia[58] and Germany[59].

Rural Sociology in Poland after World War II

The development of rural sociology in Poland after World War II has gone through particular complications connected both with changes in policies towards agriculture /policies which have marked the practical orientation of rural sociology/ and with the fact that sociology in general, and thus rural sociology, was altogether struck out from the list of social sciences for a few years. However, the development of this discipline had already been broken with the outbreak of the war. After the war the discipline was facing an altogether different pattern of relations, both in the countryside and in the whole social and economic structure, and thus altogether different questions which now determined practical needs and the interests of those specializing in that field.

The essential social conflict: village vs. manor estate ceased to exist. That conflict had determined not only the economic situation of peasant families /a substantial part of ploughland, forests and meadows had been owned by large estate owners/, but it also largely had made for the sustained social and cultural isolation of the village; it had determined the political attitudes and aspirations of peasant organizations and contributed to determine the position of the peasant stratum in the social structure. That conflict was done away along with the agrarian reform which expropriated large estate ownership and parcelled out part of those estates among the farmhands and peasant families with no land of their own.

The agrarian reform alone would not have brought about that radical a change yet, even if all the large estate lands were distributed among farmhands and peasants - since there were too many in need. But because former German land ownership was taken over and there was arising an acute shortage of manpower in cities and industrial centres /particularly in the western parts of the country/, the overpopulation of the countryside come to an end; by the same "the thirst for land", characteristic of the situation of peasantry before the war, came to an end too. In consequence the shortage of land ceased to be a factor which had limited the economic activity of peasant families. On the contrary, now there arose difficulties in putting the land taken over under the agrarian reform or for resettlement purposes to good use. Even though the agrarian reform and resettlement made for some improvement of the agrarian structure, they did not eliminate the break-up of peasant households, especially in southern Poland, where there had not been much and available for parcellation and where there were few - for various reasons - willing to settle on land in another region of the country. A more substantial change was brought about here only with the expansion of the existing industries and the creation of new ones.

Part of big estates was not parcelled out, but was established as state ownership. The existence of State Farms does not create a basis for the conflict which opposed the village and the manor. A number of elements are responsible for this, but they all are the consequence of the change in the character of ownership as well as of general changes of the system in Poland. For one, land, as it was mentioned be-

fore, is no more an object to compete for. Of course, some of peasant families would like to expand the area of their household[60], but in most cases there is no state owned land nearby. Besides a substantial part of small holder peasant families in Poland have availed themselves of the opportunity to lease state owned land[61]. There is no economic and other interdependence set-up between the State Farm and the village, as there was between the village and the manor. The State Farm is a common place to earn a living for the rural population[62], but there are no dependence instances /for example obligations to work to discharge a debt/ to force them to do so. If they take the job it is by choice, not under constraint. In view of great market demand for farm products, the State Farm does not compete with the peasant farmer as seller. There is however a functional dependency in that the State Farms supply peasant households with seeds, seed-potatoes and breeding material.

Another pattern of social relations corresponds to another pattern of economic interrelations. Between the State Farm and the village there are no social barriers /practically impossible to cross/ of the kind that existed between the peasant and the big landowner. A peasant child, if he or she gains the necessary education, can take up an executive post in the State Farm. In fact the large majority of the executive personnel in those farms are children of farmhands and peasants. The status of peasants farming on their own is not inferior[63] to that of State Farm employees. Neither does access to the ruling power substantially distinguish between those social strata. There are still some barriers and social

differences between the village and the settlement of the State Farm employees, mutual animosities and unfavourable opinions, but there is no ground for actual antagonism.

There is an altogether change still in another pattern of relations which constituted before a basis for essential social conflicts: the pattern of relations between the world of peasant economy and the urban and industrial world. The town itself has changed for one. In modern Poland the town is not divided by class conflicts, but it constitutes a settlement of manual and intellectual workers in the employ of state organizations and enterprises, the ones and the others to a substantial percentage coming from the countryside. The State establishes the incomes both of those urban social groups and of the farmers /through policies of princes, supplies and the whole economic policy/. There are thus no grounds for a direct conflict of interests between farmers and non-farmers; there may be an opposition of that or another social layer or occupational group against a given decision taken by the ruling centres, but there is no ground for antagonistic attitudes between classes, even though there are still some indefinite animosities and unfavourable opinions. Migration from the countryside has to a large extent eliminated social barriers between the peasant and other social strata. There are still in existence a number of differences: in income, access to education, medical services, certain cultural goods, prestige etc., but those differences are more related with the economic and general civilisation development of the rural regions, than with the position of the particular strata in the social structure and the system of rule. There are

thus no grounds for a conflict between peasants and other social strata and classes, and there is no question of involving the peasant stratum with one of the parties in the conflict between the urban and industrial classes. That appraisal is strengthened in view of the characteristics of the political system in Poland. There is no conflict between peasants and other social classes in access to political power. The participation in the power system is expressed not only in the part taken by the peasant party in the governing apparatus, since farmers constitute a substantial percentage of membership in the workers' party /including the party executive posts/, and in representative bodies, local and national as well.

And finally, in the system of general national culture, along with the general economic and general civilization development, the differences between peasants and other social strata and classes have been largely levelled out - not along a "peasant" or "lordly" culture, but in the wake of a new mass culture: genetically related to town and industry; town and industry of course as they have become in contemporary Poland, and namely - constituting a pattern of internally non-antagonistic, universal employees culture.

While establishing that no grounds for conflict between the countryside and town in the economic, political and cultural spheres, exist, one must not deny the existing differences, some of them quite substantial. This signifies, however, that - even though the peasant question has not vanished - its contents has undergone important changes.

There is a third pattern of social relations and conflicts arising from them that has undergone a radical change,

and namely the internal countryside pattern, relative to the development and social and economic transformations of peasant economy and of the structure of families living in the countryside. The impact of the general economic system in which a dynamic role was played by capitalist production relations, originated from urban and industrial structures, were penetrating and transforming in their way the peasant economy and the way of living based on it. The change in the influencing factors and the change in the way of influencing through the subordination of the market to the directives of planned economy have decidedly braked down the process of capitalist transformations of the countryside. This means that the impulses to go beyond family farming and to create large households basing on hired manpower have been greatly reduced. Because of this the tendency to increase the acreage of the farms has been greatly reduced as well, as it was mentioned before. But the peasant farm has maintained its tendency to modernize /based, to be sure, only partly on economic and marketing motivations/ and to increase output. Modernization and growth of output of peasant farms is being brought about /since their expansion through extending their acreage or multiplying manpower have been braked down/ with the use of a network of servicing stations which have been growing fast and gaining economic strength - especially farming machinery centres, set up as cooperatives with an important participation of the State and under its control. The management of the market not only through the prices of industrial articles, but also through a system of mandatory deliveries and contracts /derived from the take over of processing farm pro-

duce/, a total freedom of controlling investments /through allotments of construction materials and granting credits/ and production servicing /by farm machinery centres/ enables the State to be in full control of the development of peasant farming and to determine its directions. It is obvious that the state - which disposes in addition of legal and administrative measures - is quite effective in preventing transformations of a capitalist character, while it stimulates such a direction of development as to lead to bigger participation of organizations controlled by the state, and by the same token to a fuller control of peasant economy.

A change in the pattern of relations between country and town and the take-over of full control of the development and transformations of peasant economy by the State has been conducive to diminishing the pattern of internal rural interdependence /between farm and family or farm and domestic economy/; by the same it has been instrumental in curbing the basis for conflicts arising in this sphere and in favouring a growth in external dependence of that pattern. That change finds its expression in social transformations of the structure of the countryside. Antagonistic groups of rural capitalists and hired hands have become marginal groups and the conflict which opposes them has lost its importance[64]. The social structure is now marked by a continuum: farmers owning the family farm - the employees of state and cooperative organizations living in the country, a continuum, where nearly all the intermediate groups find their place /and first of all the so called peasant-workers/ linking the peasant stratum with other different working people strata[65]. Though diffe-

rences in the possession of means of production were of essential importance in the creation of that set up of the social structure, the proportion between the sources of income of the family /from the farm and from the job/ and the type of occupation are highly decisive in this respect.

Naturally neither the pattern of relations: peasant economy - state nor its corresponding pattern of social structure are free of conflicts; but those are different conflicts, between differently distinct patterns, from conflicts studied by rural sociologists in the previous period.

Since the problems of the Polish countryside have changed that much, there arises the question: whether one may speak still of the peasant question, or whether that term, loaded with meanings given to it over the previous periods, has lost its utility or, what is more - is cause for misunderstandings? The peasant question, however, in its most general formulation, is a matter of doing away with every trace of handicaps of the old peasant class, of integrating it completely with the national community, of removing the bases out of which grows the particular system of country life which imposes on individuals and families fewer possibilities both of access to desirable values and of participation in the progress of civilization. It is eventually a matter of removing the basic social differences between country and town. Those differences have not been removed nowhere in the world so far. But the matter looks differently where the peasant class has never existed or where the conflict peasants - manor was radically abolished by the removal of one of the parties /peasants - in Great Britain; manor - in

France/. Undoubtedly even there, there are differences between the country world and the urban and industrial world; and the relative handicap of the population earning its living from farming creates discontent and conflicts. But those conflicts do not appear there as a modern stage of emancipation of the former peasant estate. In the United States there is no peasant question in the European meaning of the term. In the countries of central and eastern Europe the peasant question was /and in the countries of the Third World still is/ an essential element of social revolution. In our country that revolution has decided in principle on the peasant question, but the removal of still existing differences - in income, prestige, access to education etc./[66] - appears here as a further and final stage.

The differences between country and town cannot be removed without achieving much higher than those existing now economic and civilization standards and without radical changes in the social organization of producing food, and namely without removal /or disappearance/ of family farming, the basis for a different way of life of the country and for the relative handicap of rural families. So far the peasant family farming is still the prevailing organizational form of producing food, a form persisting both in the highly developed capitalist countries and - under the shape of individual plots of the kolkhoz family in countries with collectivized agriculture. Since family farming has not disappeared even in the economically most developed countries, it may be assumed that there has not appeared a more effective economically and socially more satisfactory organizational form of

production which could compete successfully with or replace family farming. A radical re-organization of agricultural production may also create substantial difficulties in other fields of economy or in the whole social and economic system. If only for that reason some European countries protect peasant family farming against collapsing by way of subsidies, it demonstrates that a social and economic system which could do without peasant economy has not yet ripened. In socialist countries the collectivization of agriculture has brought about a farfetched re-organization of agriculture. Though it has not yet removed the essential social differences between country and town, and peasants hold the position of a different in all essential aspects class in the social structure, maybe in the future that organizational form will prove instrumental in facilitating the resolution of the peasant question once and for all. Undoubtedly the state farm type of production is still getting farther towards it and it is the most approximate to industrial system.

So far however there are no plans whatsoever to re-organize farming so as to turn it into state farms only. The state would then take on an immense economic load and would have to overcome great difficulties of a social character. In capitalistic developed countries the processes of vertical integration of farming have been creating - on the basis of family farm and the economic branches directly cooperating with it - some new, still rather loose and vague forms of social organization. Many fields of farm production have been also included in an industrial system of production. So far, however, the vision of agriculture without

family farming has not grown into shape.

In that field the problems of the Polish country are both identic with problems of the country in other countries and specific as well. The common question existing worldwide is the removal of social differences between country and town, the resolution of the peasant question, the removal of differences between the peasant class and the workers' community /that formulation of the problem is the one adopted in socialist countries/. On the other hand there is the fact specific of Poland that those transformations are concerned with peasant non-collectivized economy with individual ownership and a relative freedom of decision of the farm owner on matters of his household; but at the same time that peasant economy is not any more part of a capitalistic structure, but on the contrary it is bound with the social and economic system of socialism. That somewhat unique situation may present, as long as it lasts , an important asset for research conducted on the rural community in Poland, and the original contribution of Polish studies on rural sociology may widen the scope of generalizations.

The problems of the contemporary Polish country presented here have determined the orientation of sociologists specializing in the field. Though as it was mentioned before, right after the war /untill 1956/ the name of rural sociology /and sociology in general/ did not figure on the list of scientific disciplines allowed to exist, social and economic studies were however conducted in the country and vast material was gathered. Studies were concerned mainly with the influence of the basic changes of the system /and in their context

mainly of the agrarian reform, re-settlement and industrialization/ on the changes in the social and economic situation of families living in the country and with the class and social and occupational structure of rural families. Those studies started in 1947, developed later into a system of questionnaires repeated every five years in the same group of villages /120/. All farms and all families living in those selected villages were included into the descriptive study[67]. In the first period studies of the processes of class stratification in their regional specifics were stressed. But already in 1957[68] special research was started relative to new groups which had appeared in questionnaires, and namely groups constituting a continuum of intermediary forms between the peasant stratum and the industrial and urban community which had already then been acquiring the characteristics of a workers' community. Those studies were the ground for further generalizations on the changes in the social structure of the modern Polish country[69], for some appraisals of migrations from country to town[70], and for the shaping of the agrarian structure[71]. The experience of those studies /also methodological factfinding completed in the process[72]/ gave an impulse to formulating more general hypotheses, including one on the professionalization of the farmer's[73], which in turn lead to starting investigations on the diffusion of technological novelties in farming[74], on the occupational activity of the farmers[75] and on models of a "good farmer"[76].

In connection with those studies and on the grounds of co-operation with ethnography - which largely adopts a sociological conception of facts under its research[77] - research

developed on the rural family[78], on the social transformations of village communities and cultural changes in the countryside[80]. An important part was played - besides conclusions from mass social and economic surveys and anthropological surveys - by research on the public opinion now widely in use in Polish sociology. Though those studies have somewhat pushed in the background the traditional type of research, and namely - monography, this kind of sociological study has not disappeared, on the contrary, it has enhanced its assets and has enriched its research workshop. Monographies of villages are now more often oriented towards one problem and take up matters of the build-up of national and class consciousness[81], of social structure in the system of village community[82], social and professional activity of the farmers[83], the impact of industrialization[84], etc. The method basing on authobiographical materials has not vanished either; in particular with its use the difficult matter of cultural transformations in the countryside[85] was taken up, even though that field - as well as the matter of changes in religiousness in the countryside - is under research now also with the use of different methods[86]. Investigations conducted in regions undergoing a fast process of industrialization are another specific field of research[87].

Research on rural sociology conducted lately has thus encompassed a wide range of problems, even if it would be rather difficult to consider the range exhausted. However, a number of reports, synthetic in character, have already appeared, thus supplying the necessary elements for a discussion of the most important and most attractive matter maybe,

and namely the matter of transformations of peasant economy and the formation of a new model of organization of production in agriculture. Within that topic more specific studies are being conducted: on production co-operatives[88], on state farms[89], on agricultural centres and forms of integration in agriculture[90]. In the discussion under way on the conditions for remodelling production relations in agriculture, besides economists and activists in that field, sociologists have been expressing their views to an ever growing extent[91].

Over the last period rural sociology in Poland has acquired, it seems, rather strong organizational foundations. There is rather a great number of research centres[92] conducting rural sociological research; rural sociology is a subject taught in some departments of universities[93]; the "Yearbooks of Rural Sociology" have been appearing anew; bibliographical reports have been started[94]; there are annual conferences of rural sociologists; Polish rural sociology has been bringing a growing contribution to the development of that discipline in the world[95].

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Zbigniew T. Wierzbicki

HALF A CENTURY OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND [x]

Is it Really Half a Century?

It is not easy to answer this question. A work published nearly half a century ago entitled "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America", thus far untranslated into Polish, hasn't had great direct influence on the section of Polish sociology which deals with rural problems. It seems that this was not caused mainly by the fact that there weren't many English-reading Polish scientists /only French and German were widely known in Poland/, but rather by the fact that from the viewpoint of methodology and contents the book was distant from the interests and work of Polish sociologists, ethnologists and rural historians. The problems of village and farm inhabitants were the subject of Polish scientific analysis long before the work of Thomas and Znaniecki, but mainly from the historical and ethnographic points of view. In the second half of the XIXth century, economic analysis was also applied. However, economic works which might be considered as sociological, for example L. Górski's "Remarks on the Present State of Rural Workers in the Polish Kingdom", are very rare.

[x] First published: "Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny" 967, No.3.

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The term "rural sociology" was not applied till the 1930's and the subjects which are now included in it without hesitation, for example, agrarian structure, production systems, socio-professional structure of rural population etc., had till then, been treated as questions of agricultural economy, agrarian policy, or social agronomy. Even when the term "rural sociology" started to be used, many problems, for example social stratification, rural family, value, or material culture systems were still included in general sociology and sometimes in ethnography[2]. If we here omit the early, almost sociological works of Górski as an exceptional occurrence, as well as the ethnographic and historico -social works of the second half of the XIXth century, as being too distant from what is termed "rural sociology" today, we can say that many Polish studies from the beginning of the XXth century may be unhesitatingly classified as rural sociology despite their sometimes specific approach and unskillful methodology.

In 1903, after twelve years of study, L. Krzywicki /1859-1941/[3] published a book entitled "Agrarian Question: a Turning Point in the Production of Food in the Latter Half of the XIXth Century". This book can unquestionably be considered as a presage of today's "agribusiness", and the chapter "The Peasant Question" as a penetrating, almost modern analysis of social structure and peasant attitude-changes under the influence of the capitalistic industrialization of the country as well as of technical economic progress on a world scale. In the same year J. Marchlewski[4], an expert in European agriculture, published a work entitled "Socio-Eco-

nomical Relations in Polish Territories Annexed by Prussia' as well as many other articles. Obviously the works of Marchlewski, written from a specific point of view, are sociological works to the same extent as, for example, those of Kautsky.

A little earlier, in the Austrian sector of partitioned Poland, F. Bujak[5], an outstanding historian and agricultural economist, professor at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, initiated empirical investigations of villages and became the pioneer in writing monographic studies of rural communities /villages/. At the beginning, as far as family budgets were concerned, he was under the influence of the French sociologist Le Play, and, as regards peasant farm economics, under the influence of the Swiss economist E. Laur. He then created his own school of village monographs, so-called "integral case studies", consisting of the fullest possible description of the whole village and farms, with an emphasis on the historical evolution and economic aspects of farming often from a sociological point of view.

His first integral case monographs of his native village Maszkienice /in 1901, and its restudy in 1914/, and of the village Żmiąca /in 1903/, become the pattern for many other monographs of Polish villages and regions during the years preceding the Second World War. Only at the end of the interwar period did the first 'par exellance' sociological monographs of local communities appear, a very good work of K. Duda Dziewierz: 'The Village in Małopolska and Emigration to America. A Study of Babice Village in Rzeszów County,' /Warsaw, 1938/.

Though Bujak's school was linked with the reformist tendencies of the main rural institutions in Poland, many objections to his work are now voiced, concerning also the methodological aspects of his scientific activity. For instance, he failed to consider class factors and approached too wide a range of problems in a perfunctory manner. Nevertheless he is generally recognized as the first to implement in Polish sociology a concrete knowledge of reality instead of philosophical speculations.

Sociology in Central Poland /Warsaw/, occupied before World War I by Tzarist-Russians, developed in another way. For political reasons, sociology was supported only by Polish periodicals because of the lack of a university /it had been closed by the Tzarist-Russian authorities after the national uprising of 1863/. Even the periodicals encountered difficulties because of Tzarist censorship. Due to this situation sociologists /like scholars in other branches of learning and science/ developed mainly through self-education, and many scholars supported the revolutionary movement.

One of these "private" scholars was W. Grabski, after World War Ia College of Agriculture professor, who based his work on real historical, or economical-statistical data[6]. In 1910 he published Materials on the Peasant Question /volumes I and II/ which were characterized by a socio-national aspect understandable in view of the policies of the Tzarist-Russian invaders who tried to use the "peasant question" for their own purposes.

The studies cited here from the first ten years of the XXth century permit us to consider this period as the beginning

of rural sociology. The lack of the term "rural sociology" as well as some specific features of research conducted in this particular field /for example the national and class aspects/ should not be any obstacle to their recognition as rural "sociological" works. In fact, Polish sociology was for many years characterized by stress on national problems.

Golden Age of Polish Sociology

W. Grabski, who in 1936 founded the Institute of Rural Sociology in Warsaw as well as the journal 'The Annals of Rural Sociology', has been recognized as the first to distinguish and separate rural sociology from social history, general sociology, and economics or agricultural policy even though he himself was ready to recognize W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki/1/ as founders of rural sociology in Poland[7]. In the same year, 1936, several major sociological works were published. These were: 1/'Folk Culture'/1936/ by J.S. Bystroń, a sociological work dealing with changes in peasant culture caused mainly by the influence of urbanization; 2/'The Basis of Peasant Movement' - by S. Czarnowski[8]; 3/'Peasant Memoirs' - by L. Krzywicki, containing a thorough analytical introduction[9].

Obviously, these outstanding works were preceded by books such as: 'Introduction to Folklore' /1926/ by J.S. Bystroń, 'The Paths of Social Promotion of the Worker' /1931/ - by J. Chałasiński, and 'Polish Peasant's Paths to Progress' - /1934/ by W. Brokławski . The two latter works were quite

novel for that time, as Bronikowski showed the mechanisms by which progress occurred in villages and Chałasiński's book studied the social promotion of agricultural workers based on authobiographies collected by means of an open competition sponsored by the Sociological Institute of Poznań in 1921. This was probably the first such competition ever held.

Chałasiński's book was distinctly influenced by The Polish Peasant and in a way constituted its supplement /with autobiographies replacing letters, and emigration to Westfalia and the Rhineland replacing emigration to America/.

Two years after the pathbreaking year of 1936, Chałasiński issued four volumes titled 'Young Peasants' Generation' with a preface by F. Znaniecki, based on 1544 life-stories /collected by a broad, open competition/[10]. In some respects this book was to Polish sociology what 'The Polish Peasant...' was to American sociology. In this work Chałasiński analyzes problems from the point of view of the shaping of class and national consciousness, both on the community and national levels.

Although the appearence of the term "rural sociology" in 1936 did not bring any substantial changes to an already-existing branch of science, it did strengthen and clearly delineate the directions in which this discipline should be developed. One can mention three most extremely important trends: 1/ Community studies modeled on Bujak's first works; 2/ Studies based on personal documents represented by F. Znaniecki /who had returned to Poland after World War I/ and his pupils. Although Znaniecki had produced no work of rural sociology /except 'The Polish Peasant', written with W.I. Thomas/, he

influenced the field indirectly; 3/ Studies conducted by L. Krzywicki and his Institute of Social Economy in Warsaw which also used the personal-document method but in a different way. For Krzywicki, the autobiographies or letters were not the description of certain independent conscious processes, but rather a source of information about actual events in the authors' lives. In other words, he considered autobiographical materials as important sources of knowledge about reality and therefore he verified his documents supplementarily by objective statistical-economic investigations, carried out by his Institute /e.g. his book 'Peasant Memoirs' was verified and completed by the work 'Rural Social Structure' 1937, based on questionnaires administered in 53 villages, including 5714 farms/. That is why Krzywicki's method was more acceptable for Marxists than was the method of Znaniecki[11]. Speaking the methodologists' language one can say that for Znaniecki personal documents were, above all, important for what they expressed, and for Krzywicki for what they signified.

Prewar Polish rural sociology differed rather strongly from its American counterpart: it was younger and came into being in a different way because it grew up step by step from social history, agricultural economy and general sociology; from the very beginning its interests concentrated on the rural population as a strata and on its social structure, whereas American rural sociology concentrated rather on local community and rural life which was considered quite the opposite of urban life /which was generally negatively viewed/; finally, Polish rural sociology was interested in more general problems of rural life, for instance in class and

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nat al aspects, or in social justice, rather than in practical problems of life. Thus, Polish rural sociology was less pragmatic than American rural sociology, and, being an integral part of contemporary Polish general sociology, shared its ups and downs. The American sociologist T. Abel described pre- World War II Poland as " the most highly organized and productive center of sociology in Europe"[12]. The outbreak of the Second World War interrupted the development of Polish sociology for many years.

The Transitory Period

Second World War and the Nazi-German occupation of Poland caused a complete break in the development not only of sociology but of all social sciences in Poland: highschools and universities were closed, all forms of teaching and research forbidden, many sociologists executed[13].

The reconstruction of the country and the favorable development of Polish sociology started immediately after the end of the war in 1945, although the so-called "Cult of the Individual" /in years 1950-1956/ caused temporary difficulties and limitations: the empirical research diminished and some was totally abandoned, many scholars had to turn to editorial work, and in general scientific publications became more monolithic[14]. The interruption was neither complete nor long-lasting. On the other hand, during this period, critiques of Western sociology, and some studies on Marxism were carried out as well as many discussions, although on limited basis, occurred.

Furthermore, some studies of rural areas were carried out at the Institute of Agricultural Economics in Warsaw. Although these studies were focused on future collectivization of the agriculture, important materials were gathered which would later be also used for other research purposes.

The important political changes in October, 1956, started a renaissance of Polish sociology which merits the attention of foreign sociologists for two reasons: first, because Poland became an area in which the sociological concepts of Western countries clashed with Marxist methods of interpreting phenomena[15]; second, because after Second World War Poland experienced great social changes as a result of mass migration to the Western Territories and rapid industrialization of the country.

Hence, we can consider Poland both as a territory in which confrontation between different scientific trends can lead to a new synthesis, and as a great social laboratory of non-repeatable processes.

The inclusion of sociology in the realization of the centrally planned social and economic progress of the society decided its predominantly empirical character. There is an opinion widely held that Polish rural sociology of today is poor in theoretical works[16]; although it is true with regard to the current lack of theoretical achievements /positive theories and systems/ there is a certain richness in theoretical critical studies and skillful use is made of many theoretical concepts in the elaboration of empirical material.

After 1956 there was an extraordinary expansion of sociology which spread to most newspapers and magazines and

captured the imagination of society. At that time about 70 institutions were dealing, in whole or in part, with sociological research and study /for instance: The Research Center of Public Opinion of the Polish Radio in Warsaw, The re-established Institute of Social Economy, The Central Institute of Labor Protection, Contemporary Family Research Center at the Central Board of the Polish Society for Family Planning[17], and so on/.

A picture of this period would not be complete without mentioning sociological magazines without which no solid development of this science would be possible: "Sociological Review"/founded by Znaniecki in 1930, and re-established in 1945-47 and 1957/, "Sociological Studies" /an organ of young Polish sociologists, founded in 1961/, "Annals of Rural Sociology"/re-established in 1963/, "The Polish Sociological Bulletin"/in English, an organ of The Polish Sociological Association, founded in 1962/, and in addition, some ethnographic journals: "Folk" /published since 1895/, 'Polish Ethnography' /since 1958/, 'The Polish Folk Art' /since 1947/, 'Folk Literature' /since 1957/, 'Łódź Ethnographic Studies' /since 1959/.

Although the Universities, with their 16 chairs of sociology /10 professors and 12 assistant professors/, are henceforth the main scientific institutions, most social research has become centralized in new institutions: in the Polish Academy of Sciences /founded in 1952/, especially in its Institute of Philosophy and Sociology /founded in 1956/, and, later, also in its Committee for Research on Regions under Industrialization[18]

Present State and Development Tendencies[x]

From among three orientations existing before the war, only the one represented by Krzywicki and his Institute of Social Economy /re-established in 1957/, is still being developed. The two remaining orientations have disappeared almost completely for various reasons which however does not mean that Znaniecki and Bujak and other famous sociologists have not influenced contemporary rural sociology in Poland. It is a fact that attempts were made to continue Bujak's school, naturally taking into account the progress which had occurred in social science, but although a few worthwhile case studies on rural communities appeared, this effort has not been crowned with success.

Krzywicki's tradition and methods have been continued by the Department of Rural Social Structure at the Institute of Agricultural Economics /where investigations were first conducted in 1947/. At first, the aim was to learn about rural class stratification; then, as rural population became increasingly differentiated according to professional and environmental criteria, the Department started investigations in the area of changes of social structure under conditions of social structure under conditions of socialist industrialization. Recently the Department also investigated different aspects of peasants' economic activity, types of villages, and disintegration processes of, and in, local communities.

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x/ In the period from 1956 to 1967

Though the above mentioned Department's purpose is to collect and analyze scientific information for state authorities who administer agriculture, a task of great importance, the Team of Rural Sociology of the above mentioned Institute of Philosophy and Sociology is generally considered as the main center of rural sociology[19]. The latter cooperates closely with various institutions /especially with the Institute of Agricultural Economics/. Unlike other institutions it mainly performs basic theoretical research which requires diversified methods and investigative techniques. Among the activities of this Institute most worth mentioning are the establishment of a prospective long-term investigation plan, thereby indirectly inspiring other sociological institutions in their research; organizing annual national conferences on many subjects; editing the 'Annals of Rural Sociology' as well as bibliographies of rural sociology /in Polish and English/; and publishing books and articles by members of the team.

A particular role in research on the results of industrialization is played by the already mentioned Committee for Research on Regions under Industrialization which coordinates research work in territories which were purely agricultural regions till recently but are now sites of factories and mines /so-called "large constructions of socialism"/. The Committee deals with changes in both rural and urban regions and publishes the research results in its own periodical entitled "Bulletin of Industrialized Region Research"[20] and in a series of books. Its methods include inquiry at different periods of time, often having an interdisciplinary character.

Others strong centers of rural sociology are: the Institute of General Ethnography and Sociology at the Jagiellonian University as well as the Department of Ethnography of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow; the Department of Sociology at the Catholic University in Lublin; the Department of Sociology at the University of Łódź with its strong methodological center, the very well developed Department of Sociology at Warsaw University, as well as the Ethnography Departments at the same University and the Polish Academy of Sciences. Let us also mention: the Departments of Sociology and of Ethnography at the University of Poznań, the Department of Ethnography in Wrocław /at the University and of the Academy of Science/, and two Institutes: the Silesian in Opole and the Western in Poznań which conduct sociological investigations mainly on integration and adaptation in the recovered Western territories /post-World War II/. Mention should also be made of a team of rural sociologists at the Higher School of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the United Workers Party in Warsaw, who deals mainly with power structures and social forces in the Polish countryside.

Research and Subjects

The fact that all sociological institutions in Poland deal directly or indirectly with the effects of socialistic industrialization on the Polish countryside, does not tell us much without a detailed enumeration of the subject matters of the research. Six problem groups should be distin-

guished here:

1/ changes in the class and professional structure of the rural population; the emergence of agricultural professions /including state agribusiness/;

2/ migration from villages to towns;

3/ formation of modern farm enterprises and changes in material conditions of living, family budgets, and diffusion of innovations;

4/ local rural communities and the formation of extended communities; the formation of communities of collective farms and state farms;

5/ changes in the patterns of rural family life;

6/ changes in culture and customs /or habits and morals/ in the countryside.

In view of the broad conception of rural industrialization and urbanization there is significant freedom in selection of research themes, which allows the satisfaction of a wide range of researchers' interests. Undoubtedly the following researches are the most advanced: open and latent migration of so called "Peasant-workers" /item 2/[21]; family budgets, a continuation of prewar investigations useful for both family sociology and peasant enterprise economics /items 2, 3 and 6/[22]; class and professional structure of the rural population as well as the formation of the farming profession /item 1/[23]; cultural changes /item 6/[24]. The investigations of changes in customs and habits /as well as morals/ are somewhat less developed. These are, as a rule, dispersed throughout different centers and the results published in journals or collective works which often are ethnographic in character[25].

The two last subjects /items 5 and 6/ are investigated in the framework of community studies which, however, with the exception of one monographic study[26], have not been transformed into investigations of the formation of extended /supralocal/ communities. The rural family still remains one of the subjects of interest to Polish sociologists, and the extent of their current investigations greatly exceeds the research done during the prewar period[27]. The same can be said about investigations of Polish folk religiosity[28]. Recently, investigations of institutions which did not exist before the war i.e. collective farms, agricultural circles, and state farms have been undertaken. It seems paradoxical that on these typically sociological subjects we presently have more economic studies than sociological ones.

The work on the diffusion of agricultural innovations was begun relatively late, but from the very beginning it was conducted on an international scale /under the auspices of the European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences in Vienna/. Parallel investigations are being carried out in other European countries. The well-developed Polish investigations in this area will soon result in some important books[29].

The area of personal documents which is undoubtedly an original Polish contribution to world literature in sociology is worth mentioning separately. Excluding the World War II period and the attendant occupation, as well as the first ten postwar years, this subject has shown enormous quantitative development especially since 1956: for instance, 200,000 persons took part in 280 "memoir competitions", while in the

p[illegible] between 1920-1939, there were only about 20.

A special Committee of People's Memoirs in Warsaw which has set up a Central Archive for personal documents is coordinating this area.

During the last fifty years Polish sociology underwent a rather significant evolution, moving from theoretical socio-historical or economic sociological treatises and studies, and Bujak's integral monographs of villages with an ethnographic approach[30], to empirical investigations on the social effects of industrialization and urbanization by means of all possible contemporarily available methods and research techniques. In comparison to the interwar period one can unhesitatingly speak of a considerable enlargement in subject matter as a result of new branches of investigation such as professional problems, changes in mass culture, modernization of farms, and diffusion of agricultural innovations. Research methods and data analysis have shown even more rapid development. After World War II the strong influence of American sociology could be noted in this area. However, interestingly, the American influence was stronger in non-rural sociology /general, urban etc./ than in rural sociology where historical analysis, personal documents and statistical-economic research were still used to a great extent. Another occurrence worth stressing was the appearance of interdisciplinary studies in Polish rural sociology /for example, the integral case study of Żmiąca village, see p. 73 / as well as an extension of panel investigations. Among the greatest in world rural sociology were /and still are/ panel investigations led by the Department of Rural Social Structure at the Institute of Agricultural

Economics. These were based on a sample of 120 villages /16.000 families/ which are being systematically reinvestigated every fife years. The results can be found in books and articles.

Achievements and Weaknesses

In the 60's there was no problem of the re-emergence of rural sociology but only of its further development as a well established branch of Polish sociology. Many achievements bear witness to the truth of this statement, though weaknesses remain. Let us first say some words about the achievements.

Polish-Italian and Polish-French seminars as well as other international meetings on rural problems were recently held, and there has been increasingly active participation by Polish sociologists in international investigations. An issue of the Italian quarterly "Quaderni di sociologia rurale", no. 1 of 1963, was devoted entirely to Polish rural sociology, many articles by Polish rural sociologists have been published abroad, and finally, the very active participation of Polish sociologists in the research and work of the European Coordination Center... in Vienna clearly indicate an increased interest by other countries in Polish rural sociology.

Whereas the achievements of Polish rural sociology are quite significant, they of course vary in different areas. Generally speaking, the achievements are great in the fields of community studies /including restudies/, migration, agri-

cultural systems, class-professional structure, social forces within villages, and processes of democratization of life conditions in different strata in rural areas. The achievements are of almost equal importance in the fields of cultural change, mass culture, value systems, and aspirations and tendencies of rural youth.

We can here mention some research with great practical utility. Sociological research has in many areas delivered more exact data on economic structure than have common agricultural censuses administered by the General Statistical Office. For example, it has been shown that when the heir to a farm must pay money to other family members who are legally entitled to a share in the farm property, the heir's possibilities for investment are relatively diminished, with resulting ill effects on farm production[31]. Investigations on emigration have shown, among other things, the role of rural migration in urban development /it has been proved that emigration has taken from the villages that group of people which farmers before World War II considered as surplus, though economic investigations indicate that this occurrence did not eliminate work waste/. A positive correlation between the intensity of emigration and educational level, and a negative correlation between the intensity of migration and farm size, as well as interdependence between migration, age and salary have been found[32].

The direction of emigration and the types of jobs or professions chosen by emigrants have been investigated as well as the two different tendencies connected with different attitudes among rural residents working in towns: either impro-

vement and enlargement of one's farm, thus raising one's social position, or integration with the urban population and reduction of one's own property in the village to a small plot. Sociological investigations have shown the falsity of the stereotype of class polarization of the rural population under socialist conditions by indicating that the process of differentiation of population occurs mainly according to criteria of profession and status linked with the place of residence or work. The actual situation doesn't correspond to the Marxist stereotype: there are no conflicts between proletariat and semi-proletariat groups on one hand, and rural capitalists on the other because both groups are too small and entirely without influence. So the composition of social forces in agricultural regions presents a complicated picture of socio-psychological, economic and historical factors[33].

What the investigations revealed was first, the mechanisms by which relations and attitudes became democratized, and populations from different territories and cultural backgrounds /including non-Polish populations/ were integrated; many stereotypes and myths in this area were abolished[34]. Second, the investigations revealed the mechanisms of economic and social progress /i.e. that acceptance of new technical methods and "producers" attitudes was related to farm size/[35]. Third, changes in attitudes and life style were revealed /for example, that farmers who get a part of their income from extra-agricultural sources are much more interested in consumption than in production/[36]. Fourth, it was shown that young peasants did not base their personal aspirations on possession of a farm and that often their personal ideals failed to match

accepted patterns of behavior within their local community. Simultaneously noted have been the decreased social value of land, and increased value ascribed to education and certain non-agricultural professions, etc., which rarely corresponds to real-life behavior and attitudes /B. Gałęski, J. Turowski, Z.T. Wierzbicki and others/.

It was extremely interesting to note the positive correlation between some demographic factors /birth rate, family size/ and farm size /up to period when the factor of birth control intervened/[37].

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Now to discuss rural sociology's weaknesses. In the methodological domain there are some objections to the uncritical application of certain American methods which are not always appropriate from the point of view of either the subject of the research or the specific Polish conditions. This refers not only to wide use of a quantitative approach to phenomena, but also to an almost exclusive limitation to the questionnaire method of inquiry.

As far as subject matter is concerned, there is a certain onesideness which can be somewhat dangerous. This results both from the vanishing of some prewar trends /Bujak's and, until the 60's, also Znaniecki's/ and the concentration of investigations on industrialization effects which although most important for our country, are not the only processes

worth examining. The negative effect has been the delay of investigations in other fields. Thus, only relatively recently have investigations of rural typology, of agricultural progress, and of farm modernization been undertaken. Investigations in the field of socio-religious changes, rural family life, and rural organizations and institutions /e.g. schools, agricultural circles, and rural co-operatives/ are, surely, progressing on too small a scale. Areas such as agricultural education, health, and the situation of the aged in villages are still neglected.

Elaborations based on autobiographical materials are unsatisfactory in relation to their quantitative development. This is caused by the neglect of methodological studies of personal documents which had been so promising, initiated by Znaniecki, Krzywicki, Grabski and Chałasiński before the war. The organizers of present public open competitions and editors almost exclusively limit themselves to publishing autobiographical books, an impressive but easy action without, often, observing even minimal methodological requirements. It is characteristic that after World War II, in contrast to the prewar period /when there were a few such studies/, there were no theoretical works in this field. This objection can be generalized to some extent: postwar rural sociology in Poland is rich in empirical works but still suffers from a shortage of theoretical works generalizing and synthesizing the collected factual material. The fact that there are no rural sociology departments in universities is probably one of the causes[18]. This is surprising when one considers that one-half of the Polish population lives in villages and about

37 per cent make their living by farming. It does seem, however, that a few changes for the better have appeared[39].

Despite some weaknesses Polish rural sociologists can look to the future with optimism. As a matter of fact the process of the development of rural sociology which started at the beginning of the XXth century and developed in the 30's has made great strides since 1956, if we take into consideration the breaks caused by wartime and postwar difficulties. At present, several major scientific centers, as well as their periodicals, promise further successful development.

Reference Notes

[1] Published in 1860, pp. 126. The author was under the influence of Le Play and included in his book one of the family monographs of Les ouvriers Européens /publ. in France in 1855/. Górski's earlier book, O obecnym stanie gospodarstwa wiejskiego w Rawskim /About the Present Condition of Farms in Rawa County/, 1845, has a chapter marked by a sociological approach entitled Peasants' Condition which gives evidence for the necessity of rural social-system reforms.

[2] See B. Gałęski, Rural Sociology in Contemporary Poland: Principal Research and Some Results. "The Polish Sociological Bulletin", 1961, No. 1-2 and Socjologia wsi. Pojęcia podstawowe /Rural Sociology. Basic Concepts/. Warszawa 1966, p. 9 and ff.

[3] Ludwik Krzywicki /1859-1941/, economist, demographer, anthropologist and sociologist, strongly influenced the development of Polish sociology, especially its Marxist trends. Among his many books worth mentioning is Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics , London 1934 /in English/. See E.M. Znaniecki, Eastern European Sociology. A Polish Sociology. In: G. Gurvitch and Moore /ed./, Twentieth Century Sociology, New York 1945, p. 706; also J. Lutyński, Ludwig Krzywicki - Works."The Polish Sociological Bulletin", 1962, No. 1, p. 151

[4] Julian Marchlewski /1866-1925/, an outstanding revolutionary, president of the Tamporary Revolution Committee of

Poland /in the period of the war in 1920/. His article Sprawa rolna a rewolucja socjalistyczna /The Agricultural Question and the Socialist Revolution/, Moscow 1927 was a valuable contribution to Lenin's agrarian theses, and, later, to the agricultural program of the 3rd International.

[5] Franciszek Bujak /1875-1953/, the son of a peasant, after Second World War founded and headed the Department of Agricultural Economics of Small Farms at the Institute of Rural Economy in Puławy. Between the two world wars about 100 studies on farm and village problems were published among them about 20 monographs of individual villages /integral case studies/.

[6] Władysław Grabski /1873-1938/. From 1923-1925 he was prime minister of independent Poland.

[7] Grabski also started to write a textbook of rural sociology which was unfinished at his death; two volumes entitled System socjologii wsi /System of Rural Sociology/ appeared.

[8] Stefan Czarnowski /1879-1937/, professor at Warsaw University, was not a rural sociologist although he wrote some articles important for the development of rural sociology, among them the study Religious Culture of the Polish Folk , 1937. His main work /in French/ was: The Cult of Heroes, Its Social Conditions. Saint Patrick - the National Hero of Ireland, Paris 1919.

[9] The first volume of Peasant Memoirs appeared in 1935, and the second in 1936. Under the influence of this book a similar open competition was organized in Czechoslovakia; an abbreviated Russian translation of Memoirs entitled:

Polskije Krestianie o swojej zizni , appeared in Moscow in 1936.

10 F. Znaniecki writes in the preface: "Up to now there has been no book in the sociological literature which produced evidence of equally rich autobiographical source material, ...", p. IX.

11 Znaniecki's method was criticized from the Marxist point of view by A. Schaff, Metoda dokumentów osobistych a społeczne badania terenowe /The Method of Personal Documents and Social Field Investigations/. "Myśl Filozoficzna", 1952, No.3. W. Drabski also criticized this method. "Przegląd Socjologiczny", Warszawa 1936, Vol.IV, No. 3-4, but from a different point of view. Drabski demonstrated, using the example of Peasant Memoirs /by Krzywicki/, the discrepancy between the facts and opinions presented in published biographies and the picture of reality showed by other materials.

12 T. Abel, Sociology in Postwar Poland. "American Sociological Review", 1950, Vol.XV, No. 1, p.104.

13 Wiktor Bronikowski, the author of Polish Peasant Paths to Progress, perished in Auschwitz concentration camp; two outstanding young sociologists: T. Okiński and S. Rychliński were executed in Warsaw in 1941 and 1944. The Nazi-German policy of extermination from 1939-1945 caused the following percentage losses in groups of the Polish intelligentsia: scholarly personnel at the academic level - 28.5, physicians - 48.7, lawyers - 56.9, employees of the judiciary - 21.5, Catholic priests - 27.2. From Report on Poland's War Losses and Damages, 1939-1945 in: Ekonomiczny rozwój północnych i zachod-

nach regionów Polski /The Economic Development of Poland's Western and Northern Regions/ Warszawa 1961,p. 27/. Some Polish scientific institutions carried on underground academic work between 1939-1945.

14 J. Pelc, Filozofia i socjologia w Polsce /Philosophy and Sociology in Poland/. "Poland", Warszawa - October 1963.

15 S. Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness, London 1963, p. VIII /in English/.

16 See J. Szczepański, Ocena aktualnego stanu polskiej socjologii /An Evaluation of the Actual State of Polish Sociology/. "Biuletyn", Warszawa - October 1964, No. 1, p. 14, Committee of Philosophical and Sociological Sciences PAN.

17 Family Research Center /founded in 1965/ mainly conducts investigations on marital conflicts, premarital customs and the morals of worker and peasant youth, the postparental stage in the marital life cycle, and decision making in the procreative behavior of rural married couples.

18 This will become the basis for the future Institute of the Development of Village and Agriculture /created in 1971/ at the same Academy of Sciences.

19 Until its re-organization in 1969 when rural sociology as a separate subject was abolished because of the new division of the Institute into Sections based on concrete research purposes, for instance, The Section of Social Structure or The Section of Social Changes, embracing all branches of sociology.

[20] Until 1974 when it was transformed into a quarterly, "Village and Agriculture" with an economic-sociological character.

[21] Among others: M. Pohoski, Migracje ze wsi do miast /Migrations from Villages to Towns/, 1963; M. Dziewicka, Chłopi-robotnicy /Peasant-Workers/, 1963; W. Makarczyk, Czynniki stabilizacji w zawodzie rolnika i motywy migracji do miast /Factors of Stabilization in the Farmer's Occupation and Motivation of Migration to Town/. 1964 ; R.Turski, Między miastem a wsią. Struktura społeczno-zawodowa chłopów-robotników w Polsce /Between Town and Village. The Socio-Professional Structure of Peasant-Workers in Poland/. 1965.

[22] M. Czerniewska, Budżety domowe rodzin chłopskich /Household Budgets of Peasant Families/. 1963.

[23] J. Tepicht /ed./, Społeczno-ekonomiczna struktura w Polsce Ludowej / Socio-Economic Structure in Peoples Poland. The Results of Questionnaire Research of Individual Farms/. 1957; D. Gałaj, Aktywność społeczno-gospodarcza chłopów. Studium szczegółowe na przykładzie wsi Bocheń, /Socio-Economic Activity of Peasants. Case Study on the Example of Village Bocheń/. 1961; A. Szemberg, Przemiany struktury agrarnej gospodarstw chłopskich w l. 1952-1960 /The Changes of Agrarian Structure of Farms, in 1951 - 1960/. 1962; B. Gałęski, Chłopi i zawód rolnika /Peasants and Farming as an Occupation/ 1963 and Z.T. Wierzbicki, Żmiąca w pół wieku później /Żmiąca, Half a Century Later/ 1963.

[24] For instance J. Turowski, Zmiany społeczne wsi a miasto /Rural Social Changes and the Town/. Lublin 1949;

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K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, Społeczność wiejska. Zaborów 1937-1938 /Rural Community. Zaborów 1937-1938/.Warszawa 1958; S. Nowakowski, Przeobrażenia społeczne wsi opolskiej /Social Transformations in an Opole Village/. Poznań 1960; F.M. Kleczko, Z badań nad aktywnością społeczną i zawodową chłopów /From Studies on Occupational and Social Activity of Peasants/. Warszawa 1964; B. Gołębiowski, Z. Grzelak, W. Łowicki, Kluby prasy i książki "Ruch" /Press Clubs and Book - "Ruch"/, Warszawa 1965; Social-Economic...,op.cit.; A. Olszewska, Wieś uprzemysłowiona /An Industrialized Village/. Warszawa 1969.

[25] Among other collective works worth mentioning are: J. Burszta /ed./, Kultura ludowa Wielkopolski /Folk Culture of Great-Poland - Wielkopolska/, Vol. I-II, Poznań 1964; A. Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa /ed./, Kurpie - Puszcza Zielona /Kurpie - Great Green Forest/, Vol. I-III. Wrocław 1965.

[26] J. Turowski, Przemiany wsi pod wpływem zakładu przemysłowego. Studium rejonu Milejowa /Changes of the Rural Community under the Influence of Industrial Plant/.Warszawa 1964.

[27] Before Second World War:Z. Wyszkowski, Rodzina wiejska jako środowisko wychowawcze /The Rural Family as an Educational Milieu/. 1931; after Second World War: D. Markowska, Rodzina w środowisku miejskim /The Family in a Rural Environment/.Warszawa 1964.,ibid., Rodzina wiejska Podlasia /The Rural Family in Podlasie Region/Warszawa 1970; many articles by J. Romorowska, J. Piotrowski, S. Matczak etc.

[28] E. Ciupak, Parafianie?/Parishioners?/.Warszawa 1961; and Kultura religijna wsi /The Religious Culture of Villages/. Warszawa 1961.

[29] Published in 1971, one by S. Załęski, Innowacje i społeczność wiejska /Innovations and Rural Community/, another by W. Makarczyk, Przyswajanie innowacji /Adoption of Innovations/.

[30] Community studies in Poland have a long tradition. The year 1802 is considered as the beginning of this type of research /the first program of ethnographic research and a questionnaire project/. However, the first ethnographic monograph with a sociological point of view which can be considered as a scientific one appeared only in 1889 /Z. Wasilewski, Jagodne, wieś w powiecie łukowskim. Jagodne, a Village of the Łuków Region/ see S.K. Wierzbicki, Monografie wiejskich społeczności lokalnych w Polsce /Monographs on the Rural Local Community in Poland/. "Roczniki Socjologii Wsi" 1976, No. 17, in print.

[31] See footnote 27 - Szemberg, Tepicht, op.cit.

[32] See footnote 21 - Pohoski and others.

[33] See Załęski, Chłopi ... /Peasants.../ op.cit., and the same, Społeczna struktura wsi /Rural Social Structure/. Warszawa 1957.

[34] For instance: S. Nowakowski, Adaptacja ludności na Śląsku Opolskim /Adoptation of Population in Opole Silesia/. Wrocław 1957; K. Żygulski, Repatrianci na ziemiach zachodnich /Repatriates in the Western Territories/, Poznań 1962; Z. Dulczewski /ed/, Powstanie się nowego społeczeństwa na ziemiach zachodnich /Emergence of a New Society in the Western Territories/, Poznań 1961; B. Chmielewska, Społeczne przeobrażenia środowisk wiejskich na ziemiach zachodnich /Social Transe-

formations of the Rural Milieu in the Western Territories of Poland/, Poznań 1965; D. Gałaj, Chłopi-robotnicy wsi płockiej. Rzeczywistość i opinie /Peasant-Workers of Płock Villages: Reality and Opinions/. Warszawa 1964.

[35] See some positions in footnotes 24, 26, 28.

[36] See footnotes 21, 23, 27.

[37] Z. Styś, Współzależność rozwoju rodziny chłopskiej i jej gospodarstwa /Interdependence of the Development of the Peasant Family and the Size of its Farm/. Warszawa 1958; also Z.T. Wierzbicki, Zmiąca ... op.cit., 1963.

[38] Rural sociology as a separate subject is only taught at Warsaw Univeristy and at the Agricultural College /SGGW/ in Warsaw. See: B. Gałęski, Rural Sociology in Poland. "Sociologia Ruralis" 1966, No. 1, p. 76.

[39] In the 70's some more theoretical works, as for instance, by B. Gałęski, A. Kłoskowska, J.Tepicht, Z.T. Wierzbicki /in common with A.L.Bertrand/ were published.

Jan Turowski

STATE OF RESEARCH ON RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS [x]

The rural life system consists of the following elementary subsystems, constituting simultaneously the basis of division of rural sociology subject matter: farm, rural family, a village as a territorial community, a village as a social strata, rural population culture. Sociology also explains the mutual relations of those aspects or elements of the rural life "system".

During the postwar period investigations in the rural sociology domain were extremely intensified. Bibliographies of works from this period already contained hundreds of items[1]. The following periodicals and bulletins represent this branch of science: "The Annals of Rural Sociology" /published in ten volumes/, "Contemporary Village", "Sociological Studies", "Culture and Society", "The Sociological Review", and others. In these conditions it is hard to refer to and to discuss all studies with such a synthetic and comprehensive approach to the state of sociological investigation of a village as it has been done herein.

One should be directed to more detailed though rare estimations and to the whole sociology output.

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[x] First published: "Człowiek w pracy i osiedlu. Biuletyn IWWP", 1973, No.5/39/XII.

The Farm

The farm is the basic element of the rural life system. The character of a farm, its structure and its type of agriculture are the grounds for the entire social life and culture of a rural population. The study of farm evolution is the main purpose of rural sociology.

B. Gałęski, basing on data taken from the Institute of Agricultural Economics, has presented the process of transformation of individual farms in Poland, getting by them the elements of an enterprise and a transformation of individual farmer's work in agricultural professions.

In postwar Poland the individual farmer's work was rapidly subjected to professionalization due to the state industrialization and the inclusion of agriculture into the framework of the planned economy. The industrial farmer, formerly acting as seller, producer, and even production organizer, was now subject to limitations. The process of partial agricultural specialization and the creation of agricultural professions /farmers, breeders, corn producers, gardeners, market gardeners/ was now taking place. The factors restraining this development trend are indicated rather generally.

The wide-scale "investigations of inquiry of family and farm" lead by The Institute of Agricultural Economics /in 1952 and conducted every five years: 1957, 1962, 1967, 1972/ in about 120 villages in the country, are the only panel investigations in Europe with such numerous farm representation. These investigations reflected the following: the changes of agrarian structure, farm equipment with labour power, means of

production, production scale, housekeeping structure, age of population, migration etc. These sources so far have been only partially used to show the agrarian structure evolution and the creation of socially-economic agricultural regions of farms with no successors. These materials, enriched by the enormous resources of information collected by the Committee for Research on Regions under Industrialization at the Polish Academy of Sciences, are a real gold mine of data for the study of farms.

The evolution of farms is at present better known as the direction of agrarian structure transformation. Analysis has proven that until 1970, the percentage of medium sized and larger farms of less than two hectares, has increased. The dispersion of farms had decreased while the percentage of smaller farms of less than two hectares had increased. The dispersion of farms increased and the partition of land /patchwork/ had only been restrained, or lessened slightly. Feminization of agriculture, and a deterioration of the age structure of those employed in agriculture took place. Negative selection of labor power in agriculture took place. These processes however, have not been described precisely enough, since regional modifications of these occurrences have not been shown; also not indicated are the full analysis of reasons and effects, and the possibilities and ways of overcoming these problems. The problem of differentiation of farms as pointed out by practicians is one involving the polarization of leading farms, the dynamically developing farms and those economically abandoned farms, and has not been worked out yet because of the size of the occurrence and because of the wide scope of conditions and factors causing such a differentiation; nor have the ways and

means of controlling this process, or analysing and forecasting those changes in consequences been solved. This then is the central question in the evolution of individual farms.

So, neither have the problems of evolution of industrial agriculture, the directions of change, the universal farm typology factors and conditions of change, nor their social consequences, the methods and means of giving direction to these changes, been worked out.

An individual farm is an important type of farm in Poland /in 1969 - 83.6 per cent of all arable land in the country, 86.5 per cent of global production, 83.8 per cent of final production, 79.7 per cent of merchandise production/. Collective and state farms exist side by side. So far no analysis has been made of reasons for the breakdown of the productive co-operative movement in 1956-1957, nor of the reasons for the lack of interest shown by rural populations in this agricultural organization. The economic questions of co-operative farming have also been ignored.

The productive cooperative movement includes about one per cent of the rural population and consists of a little more than 1000 cooperative farms. There are no studies analysing the intended structure of these farms, their functions, or the problems of internal organization; nor is the question regarding the adequacy of the cooperative farm i.e. it is an intensive and effective means of agricultural production. An analysis done by L.M. Szwengrub gives the best explanations of sociological character which are based on empirical investigations. She believes the productive cooperative movement is a movement of the poor rural farmer and she sees the di-

rection of cooperative farms evolving from an association to an enterprise, from a collective body to a collective property - to a form of property and management which is closely related to the enterprise form. Broader prospects seem to be in the making for the forms of the simple cooperative.

State farms are the third type of agricultural productive enterprise in our country. Taking into consideration the actual role of these farms and viewing perspective in this agrarian form of production organization - one can surely expect a boom in this field of scientific research. Meanwhile, certain progress in the studies on state farms have been made by agricultural economists whereas in rural sociology no broader invests. There are no investigations on envolvement of employee in state farms, on labor power resources, social structure of staff, internal organization questions, problems of workers self-government systems and methods of management, conditions of high efficiency of some and high unremunestativeness of other farms, and many other related problems. Only since the Nationwide Polish conference of rural sociology in 1972, have extremely important problems been indicated, these are: problems of housing estates attached to an institution, their "subscription" to a given enterprise, isolation of families within a small local group which is often characterized inside by a special atmosphere of coexistence on one side and estrangement from neighbouring villages and regional life on the other side. This is a part of the broader occurance of isolation for the three farm types and three types of housing estate units where the life of the population employed in agriculture goes on, - ie. individual farming, cooperative farming

and state agriculture. The economists indicate economic effects, the practicioness lostes and inconsistency in educational cultural, and social policy caused by the uncooperativeness of these three types of economic units and population groups. The development of these investigations and occurances would be of great practical importance.

Rural Family

An essential feature of the traditional rural life system is the connection of a farm with house-hold keeping and the family. Postwar investigations of relations connecting these elements of rural life revealed the separation of farm from the housekeeping and the family from the farm because to certain scope the family stops being the group of labour employed there exclusively. This connection although changed and modified, still remains. As a result of the industrialization of the country and urbanization of the rural population life these connections reveal many contradictions. In Gałęski's approach there is a contradiction between a peasant family's aspirations and an individual farms' requirements. In Gałęski's formulation this crisis is understood as the peasant farm being inadequate in an industrial society structure. Chałasiński's stipulates that this is to be understood as a contradiction between the aims and aspirations of the young rural generation and the style of life which is suggested by the familiar structure of peasant's life. Whereas D. Markowska approaches the problem as one of conflict between productive function and

other functions of the family. None of these conflicts nor the possibilities of their being overcome have been explained in detail yet. In particular, there are no comparative analysis of these contradictions in relation to the productive cooperative movement or to state farms. This is essential a sociological problem, which well determine the prospects for the future of the individual in agriculture in a socialistic system as well as resolve, the so-called, peasant's question.

The chances of fully recognizing these relationships are connected with the development of the investigations into the rural family, although the problems these investigations deal with are much broader. In the light of previous studies, rural family characteristics have been shown /traditional peasant family, contemporary farm family, worker peasant's family, rural workers and clerk's family, suburban family, etc./, the changes in rural family functions of different types and their structures have been explained, and the changes in social ties within families in authoritive systems, rural women situations, and other problems have been presented. The least progress has been made in investigations of old people situated in a village, in studies of relations between generations and, particularly,between old parents and married children who stay on the farm. Problems of heridan of farms, form of child participation in running the farm are particularly meaningfiel. The development of investigations on inward life patterns of the rural families, the question of authority, the influence of the family as an educational center remain unsatisfactory. Sociological research does not deal with underdevelopment in rural institutional centers

which help the family to function. With few exceptions, previous studies have not taken into consideration the dynamics of family life connected with family development cycles.

Sociological researchers of rural families face the following problems to be resolved at least to explore the extremely important scientific sources which have been preserved in family and various diaries and biography competitions /to mention only one source - there are about five thousand memoires and life histories of youthes from the competition of 1959/; to make the results of investigations comparative and methodically equal and continuous; to synthesize prior investigations whose results were dispersed and disunified.

A Village as a Territorial Community

The following unit consists of the rural life social system as a rural local community. The research of a village as a local community has already been extensively developed since the interwar period. In the postwar period monographical studies of different types of villages have been popularized. For the most part, these studies treat the changes taking place in the village as a local group. Many different assignations may also be found in treasties based on different methodological approaches and other sources.

Previous investigations first of all show the so called desintegration of the traditional organization of the village as a local group, which began at the end of the 19th century and progressed quickly under the influence of postwar indu-

strialization and the urbanization of the country. The following changes took place. The farms broader functions, which were done by the villages as a group, began to decline or were limited or taken over by supralocal institutions and organizations. This refers to all economic, insuring, cultural, administrative functions and social control functions. Simultaneously, other changes were taking place in the old-fashioned agricultural production system: the appearance of money and the market form, the down fall of the three-field system, rural communities, sprang up primitive tools were abandoned farming methods improved - the former structurally - functional dependences joining together peasant's families and creating necessities of undertaking common actions in framework of village and mutual rendering services die out. Relations of kinship system and neighbourhood shrink while the later change their character from a neighbourhood closed within given village to "open" neighbourhood; direct relations and contacts are being reduced, social space and contiquity scope enlarge considerably and outside the given village.

Former informal village organizations based on relatives and neighbour's ensembles, on authorities of multiland farmers and the oldest, the most related representatives of families, becomes inadequate and insufficient. The former locally - centrical rural social structure based on mutual economic dependences, as well as the system of work done in discharge of a debt, binding landless people with families running big farms breaks down. The former unified system of value and benaviour patterns becomes differentiated; village opinion stops being an exclusive, universal social control

tool against the differentiation of value systems in the village, enlargenet of the scale and reach of social contacts as well as professional differentiation which takes place in the population living in the village. A village from a homogenic settler's unit became a heterogenic one. However, previouse studies show that there were and there are certain factors which will still maintain certain elements of farmer village organization /such as social opinion, the role of relatives and neighbours/ as the elements of informal organization in creating future forms of population integration on territorial basis. These factors are: suscaption by part of families living in the same village for generations, union with the land, little sizes of rural settler's units favouring maintainance of direct contacts and relations, friendship, traditions of the common /often distant/ past, finally, geographically physical distinct features separating particular villages one from another as well as spatially functional system of rural settler's unit.

Besides actual elements of traditional local community, the new forms of people's social integration are created which are connected with social changes in the country as well as with new setller's lay-outs being shaped. Unfortunately, investigations of new integration forms on rural territories /regions/ and new urban and industrial territories are still in initial stage /liminary phase/. Nobody managed so far to define distinctly the shapes and frames which they take place in. Monographic studies on a village or rurally-urban regions distinctly indicate that "... new integration forms appear in the shape of unions and purpose, specialized orga-

nizations based on conventional relations and their membership is based on criterion resulting from functions of a given union or association".

New integration forms often break the "borders" of separate villages and they are not the subject to restitution of former neighbour help and cooperation because they only embrace certain parts or categories of rural inhabitants and organize them to cooperate in the field of definite kinds of needs and aims. This cooperation being of formalized and not casual character and is formally required. The investigations on those new integration forms prove that they are shaped as organization and associations lay-out properly coordinated and being created on the settler's lay out of numerous /communication, services, spatial planning/ settler's unit connented with each other. Some of the authors see them first of all in consolidation of communes as the ensamble of settler's units connected with central village of this ensamble by dependences and services /this central village is called the commune village, settlement or the center; it may also be a small town/.

Regional studies on settlements composition as well as industrialized regions show the formation of dependences and different cooperation forms on wi - territory of particular socio-economic region. An appearing structure of such agriculturally-industrial region has been shown on the example of region of Milejów in the Lublin voivodship. On the basis of rural youth memoirs J. Chałasiński says that apart from the efforts to modernize the peasant's farm one can also observe "... the formation of local communities of a new type. I mean" - Chałasiński writes - "also rurally-urban regions where a vil-

lage and a town make one socio, culture entity. A formation of such an entity is contained in supradistrict activity of agriculture circles, party and youth organizations, schools, folk universities, houses of culture and other supradistrict institutions from a common rurally-urban region. This is only the beginning of the process - it reads - but the idea of such a direction pervades active rural young generations".

B. Gałęski does not stipulate in detail the shapes of the new social organization in agricultural territories, but he indicates that the process of rural urbanization "... is based on disintegration of traditional rural communities and formation of new local communities which do not differ substantially from urban communities" /local collectivities/.

While discussing the state of research on new social integration forms one should pay attention to a definition of research purposes in this field given by J. Chałasiński: "... working out the new rurally urban structure model requires the immediate undertaking of broad investigations in this field of theoretical and applied character. There are no ready patterns for a new rural relations configuration. By undertaking this problem we shall contribute to its solution in other countries. Up to now nowhere has it been satisfactorily resolved.

Peasant's Strata and Class Relations

In the work entitled "Young Peasants Generation" by J. Chałasiński the process of peasant strata formation in Poland

and its inside differentation have been presented. During the postwar period numerous system reforms and state industrialization, as well as people "surpluses" emigration from a village-caused the break-up of traditional rural class structure. Enlargement and social division of work lead to specialization and creation of agriculture professions within agricultural population on one hand, and to transformation of hitherto rural landless, cottage-workers', etc. population into new categories such as handicraftsmen small industry, rural and clerk's intelligentsia, commercial workers, service and agricultural service workers, etc. on the other hand. Moreover, almost one third of all adults living in the village are people who are defined as having double occupations, such as peasant-workers or agriculture-clerks. In 1962, while interpreting the results of the investigation of the Institute of Agricultural Economics on the socio-economic structure of the Polish village, B. Gałęski already said that "... all these processes went in the same way - in the direction leading to ward the break-down of the peasant's strata as a suprafunctional entity, which proves that today its' unity in economically developed countries is already outdated...".

E. Jagiełło-Łysiowa and J. Chałasiński express a similar thesis, though they do not define their statements by the processes of work professionalization nor population structure professionalization /i.e. predominating meaning of profession in relation to class-stratified attachment/.

Both the authors explain the changes in social structure, not by using the analysis of work and behaviour, but by using analysis aspirations, aims, views, i.e., the attitudes of rural

youth and young farmers which were pointed out in autobiographies of about 5000 participants of the nationwide competition of rural youth memoirs.

On the basis of entirely different types of sources they do, however, formulate similar thesis, that the most essential change in the social structure of peasant population is the process of its transition from a social peasant's role to a social farmer's role, i.e. "... the process of modern professional structure formation...". According to autobiographies, a characteristic feature of the new aspirations in the professional field is self-determination in a qualified profession, including the farmer's profession, where "the substantial social role which helps a human being to function in society, becomes to a greater degree /also in agriculture/ its professional role, its attachment to a definite occupational group; and resignation of self-determination in strata attachment categories is a characteristic feature of the progressing development of modern societies being industrialized" - states E. Jagiełło-Lysiowa.

Based on the analysis of the young Polish rural generation memoirs and comparing them with the younger generation of the 1930's, J. Chałasiński states that the contemporary younger generation aims at changing the field of agriculture into a qualified profession, or professions: and young people themselves form the categories of farmers in which harmonious fusion occurs between a traditionally physical job and education, forming unlimited possibilities for participation in a cultural life. Popularization of education allied with popularization of technical progress, removes the basic division of so-

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ciety into the categories of manual workers and white collar workers, and abolishes the former divisions of culture into lords' and peasants'.

All these ennunciations contain synthesis of changes taking place in individual farmers work which turns into the job to be done in framework of social division of work based on qualification required i.e. the jobs the products of which are not assigned for supply only. They also contain the synthesis of changes taking place in both objective role and subjective self-determination of peasants not in class but in professional categories. Those are surely the statements concerning the trend of changes and not their popularity either intensity.

Further following these processes of breaking down the class structure and professionalization of rural inhabitants is an important section of rural sociology research. It is not only the direction of changes which are concerned here but also the factors accelerating and restaraining the intensity and modification in separate parts of the country as well as formulation of motions and directive for practical activity and policy towards agriculture and a village.

Rural Population Culture

The work entitled "Young Peasants Generation" by J. Chałasiński presented the difference between the peasant's and lord's culture that is the difference in value system, patterns of benaviour and peasants population attitudes. However the results of studies done by K. Dobrowolski already during in-

terwar period indicated the changes taking place within folk culture. Rapid changes taking place after the Second World War lead to the so-called "rural social and cultural urbanization". K. Dobrowolski worked out a general theory of the break-down of the traditional peasant culture explaining the tendencies and the mechanism of changes. Many works have been recently published, based on empirical data and so-called local investigations describing the changes in all spheres of the rural populations' cultural life. Applying the so-called objective indexes A. Pawełczyńska analysed the scope and scale of cultural changes in a village in separate parts of the country. The data Pawełczyńska used is characteristic rather for separate voivodship as far as equipment in material and technical industrialization and urbanization coefficients are concerned. In principle, the sphere of value, customs and habits systems, patterns of participation in creation and consumption of artistic and intellectual values, people's attitudes, personality types and so on, remain outside these investigations.

Apart from such comprehensive attempts of analysis of rural population culture, other investigations have been developed, devoted to detailed problems e.g. the question of attitudes towards the land as a value, the relation to a farm of different generations, questions of young people interests, aspirations, profession the question of leisure hours and forms of their utilization, the changes in these forms etc.

Religious life of rural population /peasants/ became the domain of empirical investigations. This was the subject of many works revealing the changes in religiosity caused by country industrialization and urbanization processes. An at-

tempt of analysis of attitudes connected with peasants outlook on life has been taken out.

All these subjects and studies are dispersed. There are many objections about investigation of attitudes and personality by means of interpretation of single answers for questions asked in a poll or an interview. Systematized results or even broader synthesis are expected as in other fields of rural sociological research.

Recently the investigations called studies on "innovation diffusion" have been taken up. The problems of adoption or diffusion of innovations are, as a matter of fact, of sociology of culture field because they concern the factors, mechanisms and results of diffusion of new culture elements into communities and environments where they never occured before. In Poland these problems have always been considered mainly in the framework of rural sociology. That is why they may not be omitted in the review of rural sociology investigation development.

In the postwar studies of innovation diffusion these problems were undertaken first of all in ethnosociological and sociological monographs of villages. The second kind of investigation on these subjects were taken up by Institute of Agricultural Economics /Rural Sociology Division/ based on interviews and statistical analysis of collected data, part of which was presented in the treaties of B. Gałęski and J. Marek. In 1962, the Public Opinion Poll Center took up the investigations on all-Poland sample in the purpose to present the role of agricultural education as the way of innovation diffusion to village and agriculture. Different investigations based on

the comparative study of two villages /one, well modernized and the other, underdevelopped/ have been conducted by the Press Investigation Center in Kraków. The results have been presented by W. Makarczyk and B. Olszewska-Krukowa. In 1966, the Rural Sociology Department of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, together with the Cooperative Investigation Institute took up the investigations on agricultural innovation diffusion in the frame of international comparative investigation program.

Chronologically the last investigations on innovation diffusion are comparative investigations conducted in four pairs of villages from the Lublin voivodship, one village being modernized and the other being underdevelopped in each pair. The results of these investigations based on interviews and real data collected, have been worked out by J. Turowski and A. Bornus. The book "Innovations Adaptation" by W. Makarczyk /Warsaw, 1972/ is a synthesis generalizing treaty from this field.

Previous investigations in the field of innovations diffusion deliver many information already on the factors conditioning and favouring or restraining adaptation of innovations in a village and in agriculture. They define the stages of novelties adaptation and the conditions in which these stages follow one by one, they introduce typology of farmers according to their attitude towards adaptation and introduction of innovations first of all in the field of agricultural production.

A domain of investigations named as the problems of innovation diffusion is the domain of broad studies and necessary research practical significance of which and the possibili-

ties of their results utilization in the field of rural modernization are especially big.

Investigation in this field may deliver many sociotechnical recommendations for agrarian policy, educational, as well as economic policy. The statements formulated in the framework of the so-called theory of innovations diffusion may be however utilized in formulating broader theories concerning the changes in culture, to be understood as a system of behaviours and value patterns including behaviour and participation patterns in artistic and intellectual values.

The formation of new scientific orientation picture of investigation on sociological rural problems presented above would not be full without taking into consideration the occurance of new orientation rise in the field of investigations on rural population culture. The need of new orientation has been especially sharply stressed by J. Damrosz of XI All-Poland Conference of Rural and Agricultural Sociologists, held in Warsaw in 1972. He exposed two principle assumptions supported by E. Pietraszek and other disputants: firstly, folk culture should be treated not only as a selection of colorful outside attributes /decorative paper out-outs adorning walls of peasant cottages, folk dresses, etc./ but also as a style of life, neighbour cooperation, local self-government etc., i.e., the characteristic features connected with the system of developed personal ties, and secondly - so broadly understood folk culture should be an important factor of humanization of social structures and systems of social ties in an industrial civilization.

This problems has been formulated by J. Damrosz in the

following way: "is there any contradiction between industrial civilization type which genetically has its sources in capitalistic epoch and new culture systems and new social structures brought by socialism; and whether folk culture might play inspirational and creative role in creation of new post-industrial civilization type?".

The program of new scientific organization can be simultaneously named as "the program of micro-social milieu protection".

The sources of this orientation were created in the post-war period on the stage of intensive urbanization and industrialization of the country. The one-sided approach to industrialization and urbanization processes caused an underestimation of the durability and possibility of "actualization" or "nationalization" of certain parts or elements of folk culture /besides artistic folk culture/. As attention is drawn to ethos, i.e. to certain value systems /such as work, thriftiness and work appreciation, high estimation of human dignity, human relations, culture etc./ as well as to certain systems of behaviour patterns, which should be protected, like the natural human environment. This is the more that dynamic approach to culture as something what is created and not something what is ready /in the shape of so-called urban culture/ what penetrates and what should be needed more than that already was and what is - even more deepens and justifies necessity of change of orientation in investigations. "Adaptation" however, of certain elements of the traditional peasant or proletariat culture and their nationalization may came the social relation, as well as "morale" and spiritual life of our society to be of

separate character in relation to socially empty industrialized urban societies from the West. It makes new aims and purposes for rural sociology.

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